THE PRETENDED TOMB OF HOMER

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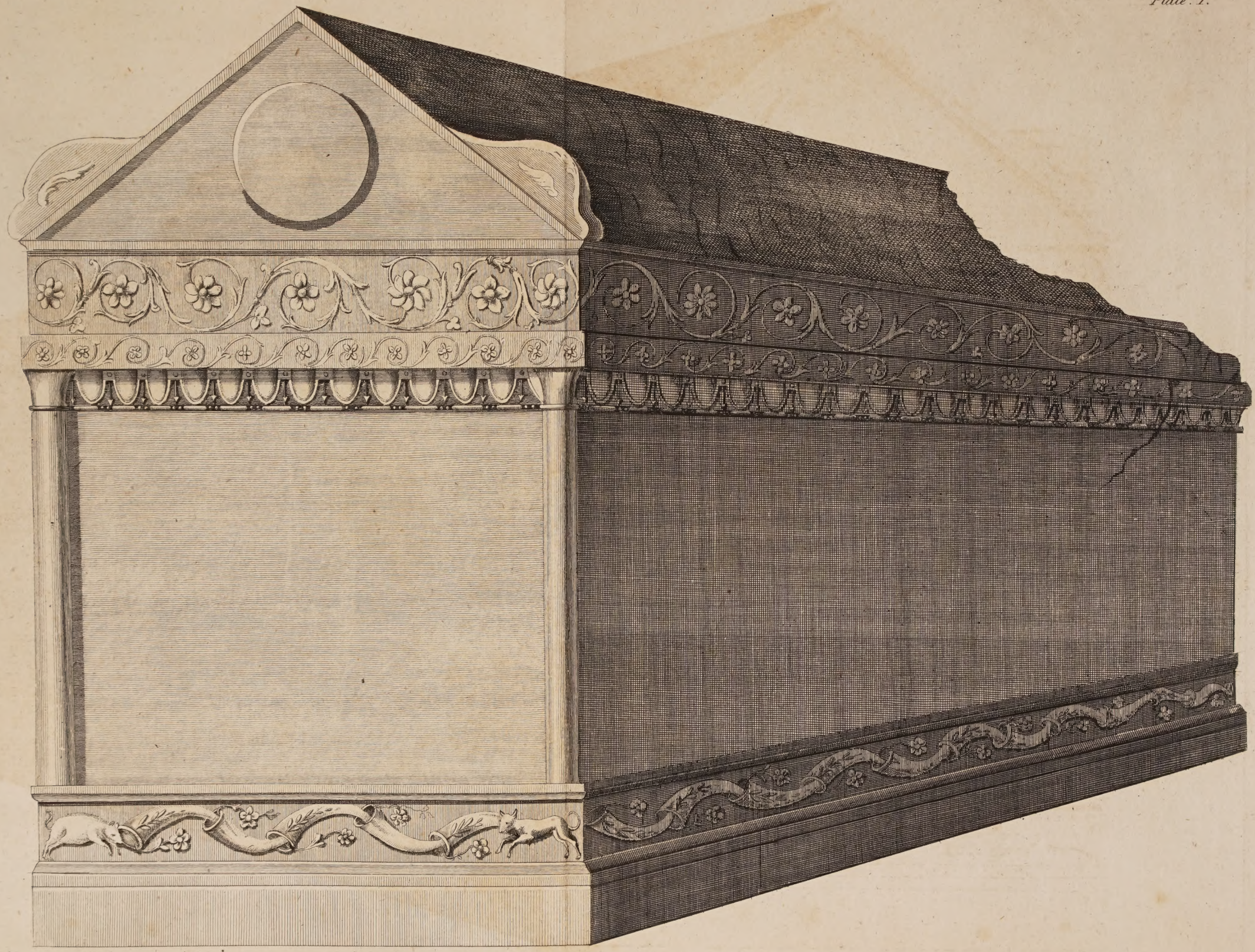

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THE

PRETENDED TOMB

OF

HOMER:

DRAWN BY

DOMINIC FIORILLO,

FROM A SKETCH OF

M. LE CHEVALIER.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS and NOTES,

By C. G. HEYNE.

LONDON:

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1795.

TO AN

ENGLISH GENTLEMAN.

PENETRATED with a due ſenſe of your repeated favours, and of the happineſs which through your means I enjoyed in the boſom of a reſpectable family to which you are allied, I was reſolved to make this little performance worthy of attention by dedicating it to you; and at the ſame time to pay, at leaſt, this ſmall tribute of gratitude to a perſon to whom I owe many and various obligations: But I recollected that your modeſty in the cultivation and purſuit of letters is equal to that diſcretion and ſecrecy with which you make ſuffering humanity feel the beneficent effects of your ſympathiſing diſpoſition, I ſhall not therefore name you. I reſpect and admire the delicacy of your intentions; and to them I ſacrifice my own inclination: But I hope you will be convinced, that, although your Name does not appear at the head of this little work, it will be at leaſt ever dear to the Author, whoſe gratitude is the moſt worthy homage he can pay to a feeling heart like yours.

PREFACE

OF THE

TRANSLATOR.

DURING my ſtay at Peterſburgh, after having examined the collection of antiquities brought from the Archipelago by the Ruſſian fleet, I had a curioſity to ſee the monument which ſome years before had been announced under the name of the *Tomb of* HOMER. It was ſituated upon the banks of a ſmall artificial lake, and overſhadowed by tall cypreſſes. I took its dimenſions, and a draught of it.

ON my return from the North, I took Gottingen in my way, in order to have an opportunity of teſtifying my gratitude to my illuſtrious friend Profeſſor HEYNE, who had lately given a ſanction in Germany to my reſearches upon the *Troad*, as the Profeſſor DALZEL had already done in England.

MR. HEYNE was much intereſted about the pretended Tomb of HOMER; and was kind enough to promiſe that he would give his ideas upon it. I therefore left with him my drawings, and gave him all the information in my power, in preſence of Profeſſor HEEREN, (author of a very excellent work upon the trade of the Carthaginians,) and of M. FIORILLO, (profeſſor of painting,) who was ſo good as to correct my drawings, and to prepare them for engraving.

MY firſt idea in ſeeing the principal ſide of the monument was, that it repreſented HOMER and ACHILLES ſurrounded by the

Fates; the face of the old man; his Phrygian bonnet; the dreſs of the Thracian ſhepherd; the poſition of his hand upon the breaſt of the young man near him;—all together ſeemed to evince the author of the Iliad in the act of ſeizing as it were the hero of his poem, juſt as he quitted his woman's apparel to buckle on his armour and prepare for war; but I ſoon changed my opinion upon examining the reſt of the compoſition.

It is eaſy to ſee that the monument repreſents the life of Achilles. On one ſide, he is educated by the Centaur Chiron; on another he is teaching the daughters of Lycomedes to play upon the lyre; on the third, he is detected by the artifice of Ulysses; and the fourth, may be conſidered as a very happy emblem of the battles deſcribed in the Iliad.

One perceives in all this compoſition, that the intention of the artiſt was directed towards one end only, which is not common in this ſort of monuments, as they have generally a different ſubject upon each ſide.

If it be true that it was found upon the banks of the ſea in the Iſland of Jos, as ſeems to be the caſe from the account of Biornstall, I ſhould think it may very poſſibly be the ſame monument mentioned by Silentiarius, and which was ſtill to be ſeen there in the time of Justinian. It is indeed not improbable that the inhabitants of Jos might have erected it, in order to maintain their pretenſion to the poſſeſſion of the aſhes of Homer, as many other countries employed other means to entitle themſelves to the honour of having given a birth to him. The life of Achilles was a ſubject very proper to be put upon the grave of Homer, eſpecially if it was accompanied with that account of him which is mentioned in *his Life* aſcribed to Herodotus.

Every

EVERY one is therefore at liberty to indulge himſelf in conjecture, in a circumſtance ſo full of uncertainty. At any rate, that SARCOPHAGUS has ſuſtained the remains of ſome great perſonage, exiſting in all probability before the time of the Romans; and, to uſe the expreſſion of the celebrated HEYNE, *that handful of aſhes has been long diſperſed**.

* Die hand foll. Staub iſt nun längſt ferwehete.

THE

THE PRETENDED TOMB OF HOMER.

DURING the war of the Ruſſians with the Turks, which was terminated in 1774 by the peace of Foczani, a report was ſpread that the Count PASH of KRINEN, being on board the Ruſſian fleet, had diſcovered the tomb of HOMER in the iſland of Nios (the ancient Ios); that the monument was a Sarcophagus, fourteen feet high, ſeven long, and four broad, conſiſting of ſix pieces; that on one of its ſides was an inſcription (probably the very ſame mentioned by HERODOTUS, which had been placed there after his death); that the ſkeleton had been found in a ſitting poſture; that before him ſtood a marble veſſel in the form of an inkſtand, a pen, with a marble ſtylus, and a ſharp ſtone like a knife; that it was believed, in conſequence, that FRERET's ſyſtem concerning the antiquity of writing was confirmed by this diſcovery.

IT is evident that the author of this antiquarian novelty is not one of the moſt learned in the world; and thoſe who are accuſtomed to laugh at the weakneſs of heroes find here ample matter

for amuſement. However, (not to loſe time in inſiſting on that ſubject,) it was generally conjectured that the report was not entirely without foundation. By laying aſide the ſkeleton, the inkſtand and the pen, it might abſolutely have been the Sarcophagus; it was thought that the inſcription might lead to an intereſting diſcovery, as the inhabitants of Ios had in fact compoſed an inſcription in honour of HOMER, though long after his death*; and, according to an epigram of PAULUS SILENTIARIUS †, who lived under JUSTINIAN, it was believed that the very Sarcophagus was ſtill at that time to be found on a rock on the ſea-ſhore.

WHEN the letters of BIORNSTHAL were publiſhed, it was ſaid in one of them, dated Leghorn, June 1772, "Now, I cannot help "making mention, in a few words, of a new and extraordinary "diſcovery in the learned world, which I did not expect to find "at Leghorn." It is not our buſineſs at preſent to examine whether Leghorn belongs to the learned world or not; it is ſufficient that we know that BIORNSTHAL means here the tomb of HOMER, which the Count PASH of KRINEN had found in the iſland of Ios ‡, (now called Nios,) and which he had brought to Leghorn packed up (as he ſays) in cheſts. He confeſſes that he

* That inſcription is to be found in the life of HOMER which is attributed to HERODOTUS. Chap. xii.

Ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν
Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

† Anthol. Steph. p. 269. Brunck. Analecta. T. iii. p. 101. LXXX. Ἐνθάδε—Ὅμηρον κεινὸς ἔσω ἀγκιάλῳ τύμβος ἔκει σκοπέλῳ.

‡ M. LE CHEVALIER was told at Peterſburgh that the Sarcophagus had been found in the iſland of Andros. In that caſe we ſhould give up all thoughts of the tomb of HOMER. Ios, on the contrary, enjoyed the ancient fame of being in poſſeſſion of HOMER's tomb. PLINY ſays, "Ios HOMERI ſepulchro veneranda." Lib. iv. 5. 23.

did

did not ſee it; but ſays that the Count gave him a peruſal of his memoirs, of which he made, for his own uſe, an extract ſtill to be found among his papers: he only affirms that the abovementioned inſcription is upon the tombſtone. What follows, "that MENTOR "was his father," might be ſuppoſed to belong to another inſcription of the tomb; but, on cloſer inſpection, we ſhall find that all which follows is borrowed from the life of HOMER which goes under the name of HERODOTUS. M. BIORNSTHAL ſays farther, "In theſe inſcriptions are found all the letters of the Greek alpha-"bet, even the Θ, κ, φ, except the H and ω: HOMER's name is "written OMIROS." But if the inſcription was ancient it ſhould have been OMEROS, or ſtill rather HOMEROS. M. BIORNSTHAL expreſſes (as was to be expected) ſome doubts about the antiquity of the inſcriptions, of which, it ſeems, he ſaw only the copies; and it may be conjectured that even they were ſpurious. The Count KRINEN ſeems a little inclined to the marvellous: "He had diſco-"vered graves full of giants' bones. He went to Epheſus, which "city is now quite buried under ground; he went down by a ſub-"terraneous paſſage; there he found the town quite entire, with "houſes, ſhops, and ſtreets, &c.; he found in ſome rooms money, "a great many ſmall idols, and ſtatues ornamented with hiero-"glyphics and Greek inſcriptions, which he carried away. No "one but himſelf is acquainted with the ſituation of the town; "and he ſhut the paſſage through which he had entered." This laſt circumſtance is truly unlucky: Who now can find the place again? The Count KRINEN was very much frightened by ſerpents in that ſubterraneous town. On this account he ſtuffed his pockets (in which, perhaps, he found room even for ſome ſtatues), as expeditiouſly as he could, and got in great haſte. He has alſo

in his poſſeſſion a collection of fine antiques and cameos. We ſhould be very happy to ſee them. It is aſtoniſhing that neither the Count nor his collection have ever ſince been heard of; perhaps this narrative will induce that antiquarian to appear once more on the ſtage.

But to return to Homer's tomb.—The Count Krinen offered it to the King of Pruſſia; and deſired to be informed in what manner that monument could be tranſported into his kingdom, whether by ſea or land. Probably Frederick was taken up with affairs much more intereſting than thoſe of antiquity; perhaps, alſo, (a conſideration which, alas! but too often preponderates with the great of this world,) the offer was not made by a proper man, by one whom he looked upon as a connoiſſeur; perhaps he had been prejudiced againſt him, and the propoſals of the Count betrayed equally the antiquarian and the monument: in a word, Sans Souci was deprived of the honour of poſſeſſing the tomb of Homer. That monument, however, would have well ſuited a monarch who ſo highly deſerved to have had a Homer as his herald. Had Frederick known that it repreſented Achilles at Scyros in the palace of Lycomedes, it would have been for him a new inducement to purchaſe it, that it might be as a companion to the family of Lycomedes, which he already had in his poſſeſſion at Sans Souci.

It is not known in what manner the Count Krinen came to this diſcovery. M. Biornsthal relates, that Leonard Pash of Krinen was born in Ruſſia of Dutch parents; that he travelled in the Levant, with a view of making reſearches in the ſciences; that he was Captain on board the Ruſſian fleet in the Mediterranean; but that, having made that extraordinary diſcovery,

very, he left the ſervice leſt he ſhould be obliged to abandon it to the Ruſſians. The good Count little thought that his diſcovery, inſtead of being carried in triumph to Peterſburgh; inſtead of being ranged under the banner of the Greek nation; was one day to be humbly expoſed to the injuries of the weather in a private garden of that capital.

For a long time nothing had been heard of this wonder, till lately it was known that it had been carried to Peterſburgh. At laſt appeared the deſcription of that town by Georgi, in which are the following words: "In the gardens of the ſummer palace "of the Count Stroganoff is to be ſeen a very fine Sarco-"phagus, which is called the Grave of Homer; it was brought "from the Archipelago in the laſt Turkiſh war: it is large, of "white marble, and decorated with figures in baſſo relievo repre-"ſenting warriors." But by this we learned nothing elſe than that this ancient monument, which (at leaſt from Homer's name) deſerved attention, had been reſcued from the hands of the barbarians of the Archipelago, and tranſported to Peterſburgh. It remained for ſome time unknown as formerly. Who can tell if even the Poet himſelf would have met with a better fate, had Providence reſerved him for our times?

M. Le Chevalier, during his travels in Ruſſia, made a draught of this monument; the ſketches of which he communicated to us as he paſſed through Gottingen. He gave alſo the neceſſary explanations, in preſence of the Profeſſor Heeren and M. Fiorillo, who readily undertook to prepare a drawing of it for the engraver. My eſteem for M. Le Chevalier, and many other conſiderations, made me promiſe an explanation of that

that ancient monument; the more ſo, as the public papers had already repreſented it in very different points of view.

THE figures exhibited on that monument are more clearly underſtood by an inſpection of the engraving than they can be by any written deſcription. It was thought at firſt that it was HOMER ſurrounded by the Muſes* and the Fates. But the leaſt attention is ſufficient to ſhew that the monument repreſents ACHILLES, diſguiſed in woman's dreſs, at the palace of LYCOMEDES King of Scyros, and detected by the cunning of ULYSSES. This work becomes ſtill more intereſting on account of the ſubject, which is very ſeldom to be met with in thoſe monuments which have eſcaped the ravages of time.

FROM the Poets and Mythologiſts † we know, that ACHILLES had been detained by his mother THETIS; and that ſhe had done all

* Count KRINEN, according to the relation of BIORNSTHAL, thought to have diſcovered, by ſome ſigns and figures of that tomb, that HOMER had been a painter. He probably had ſeen pallets and implements for painting in the hands of the female figures. It is true that in the writings of the ancients very unexpected things have been often diſcovered, and ſtill more in the works of art.

† We will go back to the origin of the fable, as one ought to do on ſuch occaſions. It is very doubtful whether this narration was to be found in the Cyprian hiſtory (τὰ Κύπρια), as it is not mentioned in PROCLUS's ſummary (Bibliothec. d'Ancienne Litterature, Art. I. inedita. p. 25.). Here, on the contrary, ACHILLES lands in the iſland of Scyros, at his return from the Myſian expedition, and marries DEIDAMIA. At firſt ſight we are tempted to believe we have made a diſcovery in EUSTATHIUS (Il. T. 333. p. 1187.). He quotes the leſſer Iliad, and cites two verſes from it: Ὁ δὲ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα γράψας φησὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλῆα ἐκ Τηλέφου τῆ Μυσῶ ἀναζευγνύντα προσορμισθῆναι ἐκεῖ· γράφει γάρ οὕτω.

Πηλείδην δ' Ἀχιλῆα φέρει Σκῦρόνδε θύελλα,
Ἔνθ' ὅγ' ες ἀργαλέον λιμὲν ἵκετο νυκτὸς ἐκείνης.

But we ſoon perceive that theſe verſes afford no new information; and very likely EUSTATHIUS confounds the leſſer *Ilias* with the Cyprian hiſtory, for theſe verſes might have been borrowed

all in her power to prevent him from going with the Greeks to Troy, becauſe ſhe had learned from her father NEREUS the fate he

borrowed from thence. The laſt events of the war were contained in the leſſer Iliad; but not thoſe of the firſt years. However, it would have been proper to mention it, at leaſt, in a curſory manner, where ULYSSES carries off NEOPTOLEMUS from Scyros, and puts into his hands the arms of his father. (See ibid. 36.) But in the Scholia on HOMER (Il. T. xix. 338.) it is expreſsly ſaid that the fable has been invented by the Cyclic Poets: ἡ ἱστορια παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς.

HOMER himſelf is quite a ſtranger to that notion, that ACHILLES had been concealed by THETIS to prevent him from going to the Trojan war. NESTOR and ULYSSES wait on old PELEUS, and obtain, without difficulty, that ACHILLES and PATROCLUS ſhall accompany them to the war. (Il. (λ) xi. 764 to 789.) Moreover, ACHILLES attacks Scyros in an hoſtile manner, and makes ſome of the inhabitants priſoners. (Il. (ι) ix. 663, 4.) It is certainly contradictory to ſuppoſe that ACHILLES came to rob and plunder an iſland in which he had been educated.

However, the firſt idea of this fable of ACHILLES's reſidence at Scyros is in HOMER. ACHILLES, in his lamentation for the loſs of PATROCLUS, ſpeaks of his ſon NEOPTOLEMUS at Scyros (Il. xix. 326); and in the Odyſſey (λ. xi. 505.) ULYSSES aſſures the Ghoſt of ACHILLES that he has conducted, by ſea, his ſon NEOPTOLEMUS to the Grecian army before Troy. Even had no other fiction been added to this, the Poets might eaſily have inferred the reſt.

It is in the Mythologiſts that we find the chief grounds of this fable: In APOLLODORUS, iii. 13. 8.; HYGIN. Fab. 196.; TZETZE's Antihom. 173.; 5. ibid. HR. JACOBS. The works of all the Greek Poets who have mentioned this fable are loſt. Many Tragic Poets had brought it forth on the ſtage. It is mentioned in the fragments which, from the chorus compoſed of the young girls of Scyros, were called Σκυριαι, and not Σκυριοι. SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES had each compoſed a tragedy with that title. This fable was alſo, very probably, the ſubject of thoſe pieces which went under the title of "ACHILLES and NEOPTOLEMUS;" and perhaps the ſatyrical drama of SOPHOCLES, intituled "ACHILLES's "*Lovers*" (Αχιλλεως Εραται), had alſo taken its origin from it. The ſtay of ACHILLES at Scyros had likewiſe furniſhed a good ſubject for pantomime. (LUCIAN on Pantomime, 46.) Even the ſchools of rhetoric drew from it good matter for declamation. In LIBANIUS, ACHILLES is exhibited as a coward. Others wrote ſpeeches on the conduct which ACHILLES ſhould have obſerved in leaving Scyros. Theſe ſpeeches might have been as well compoſed as many of our hiſtorical dramas, which in general have a ſlight reſemblance to theſe rhetorical performances. (See HERMOGENES' Progymnaſm. Bibliothec. d'Ancienne Litterature, St. 9. S. 13.)

Had

he was there to experience. The young hero permitted himſelf, with great reluctance, to be ſnatched from the arms of his mother, and conducted to Scyros*, to be diſguiſed under woman's dreſs at the court of the King LYCOMEDES, among the maids of honour of his daughter DEIDAMIA†. He betrayed himſelf afterwards by his indiſcreet paſſion for DEIDAMIA. The ſecret muſt notwithſtanding have been kept very long; as the Greeks, to whom the

Had the little ſtory which is to be found among the Bucolics of BION, intituled "The "Epithalamium of ACHILLES and DEIDAMIA," been preſerved entire, we ſhould probably know more particulars concerning this fable. In the fragment which remains, the firſt ſentiments of love are expreſſed with the moſt beautiful ſimplicity.

Another fragment, ſtill more in point, has been preſerved—"The Achilleid of STATIUS." The ſecond book begins by the departure of ACHILLES from Scyros, and contains exquiſite pieces of poetry.

* This was a favourable opportunity for the Poets to introduce the ſea-gods and ſea-monſters; and STATIUS neglects not that reſource in the voyage of THETIS. But the Artiſts ſeem alſo to have turned it to their advantage; at leaſt I imagine that it was the ſubject of the figures of SCOPAS which were in the Temple of NEPTUNE in the Circus Flaminius: "Sed in maximâ dignatione Cn. Domitii delubrum in Circo Flaminio: NEPTUNUS ipſe et "THETIS atque ACHILLES, nereides ſupra delphinos et cete hippocampos ſedentes; "item tritones choruſque Phorci et priſtes ac multa alia marina, omnia ejuſdem manus, "præclarum opus, etiamſi totius vitæ fuiſſet."

† ACHILLES was fair, (it is for that reaſon that Poets give him the name of PYRRHA,) and ſo might the more eaſily paſs for a woman. However, the Poets muſt have been a little puzzled about his diſguiſe. In fact, had he been brought very young to Scyros, there are many circumſtances which it would not be poſſible to explain. According to STATIUS, he was ſtill with CHIRON at the age of twelve. (Achill. ii. 396.). APOLLODORUS ſays he came to Scyros at the age of nine, εννεατης. We may ſuppoſe that DEIDAMIA would have been better pleaſed had he been nineteen, ενναδεκαετης. But what probability is there that he would have paſſed for a girl? The Poets get out of this labyrinth by ſaying, that the preparations for the Trojan war laſted many years. They reckon ten; and ACHILLES was then thought of for the firſt time, when the army was aſſembled at Aulis. The ſcholiaſt (Il. ix. 664.) and TZETZE's Antihom. 168.) ſeem to favour this opinion: but we muſt not frighten the Poets by too near an approach of the chronological torch. Had ACHILLES come to Scyros at the age of nine, he had ſtill full time to grow.

oracle

oracle had declared that they could never ſucceed againſt Troy without ACHILLES, made long and uſeleſs reſearches after his place of concealment. At laſt ULYSSES diſcovered it; but it is difficult to ſay by what means. STATIUS gives him the ſoothſayer COLCHAS* to aſſiſt him. Southſayers and oracles are indeed precious reſources for Poets and Hiſtorians, when they are ignorant of the ſecret ſprings of events. They ought not to have been laid aſide. They were of very great advantage to Stateſmen and Generals, to explain, after the event, why ſucceſs had not correſponded with the excellent projects that had been formed. They had obeyed an oracle or the promiſe of the Gods, which nobody had underſtood, and which perhaps APOLLO himſelf had not underſtood. No matter, their fault was overlooked. ULYSSES was ſent to Scyros; and as LYCOMEDES gave him no information, he was obliged to deviſe himſelf the means of ſpringing the mine. He expoſed, in a hall of the palace, different preſents for the King's daughter and her companions, and on the oppoſite ſide he placed ſome armour. At the ſame time he ordered the trumpet to be ſounded without the palace, as if it was attacked by the enemy. Such as were real women, ran away with the ornaments they had in their hands, but ACHILLES graſped a ſpear and a ſhield.

THIS is in a few words the narrative of this fable. We ſhall ſubjoin here ſome circumſtances taken from STATIUS, with which our monument agrees in many reſpects; not as if the Poet and the Artiſt had followed one another, as has been concluded in the inſtance of the Laocoon, without paying attention to a third very

* Achilleis, 1 B. 504. 523.

poſſible circumſtance, that neither the Poet nor the Artiſt had copied one from the other, but that both had derived this hiſtory from more ancient ſources.

Ulysses ſets out from Aulis with Diomede, lands at Scyros, declares that the object of his voyage is to explore the Trojan coaſt, and is well received by the King. An entertainment is given to the foreigners, and the King's daughter, with her companions, is admitted to table. This is not quite in the heroic ſtyle; but we muſt not be too hard on the Roman Poet. Ulysses ſoon diſcovers Achilles, notwithſtanding the pains Deidamia takes to conceal her diſguiſed lover. Uneaſy for her Achilles, ſhe is perpetually warning him to cover his breaſt, to keep his hands under his robe, not to expoſe his ſhoulders, not to riſe from his place, not to aſk for wine ſo often; ſhe ties his fillet anew, and, in a word, does all in her power to prevent Ulysses from diſcovering him. Lycomedes, who wiſhes to treat his gueſts in an honourable manner, appoints the following day for a feaſt, to be celebrated after the manner of the Bacchanalian orgies; it conſiſted in a dance of young women dreſſed like Bacchanalians. Here Achilles betrays himſelf ſtill more by the overmanlineſs of his motions; he does not keep time, he forgets when he ought to give his hand, he ſtamps too violently, he throws his robe into diſorder, the dance is all confuſion; in a word, he ſpoils the whole buſineſs. The diſtreſs of Deidamia may be eaſily conceived. Ulysses had carried along with him a complete ſet of ornaments, ſuch as are uſed in the celebration of the Bacchanalian feſtivals; he ordered them to be brought and expoſed in one of the halls of the palace. On one ſide were to be ſeen thyrſes, cymbals, garlands, and ribands; on the other were

were ſome arms. All theſe preſents were doubtleſs adapted to the modes of the time. At the ſight of theſe ſhining arms, ACHILLES is no longer maſter of himſelf, and thus betrays himſelf in an inſtant. At the ſame time is heard a trumpet which gives the ſignal of an invaſion by a foreign people. All run away, ACHILLES alone graſps the arms; and then being completely detected, he makes himſelf known to LYCOMEDES, and aſks his daughter in marriage. The father confirms their union, and the next day ACHILLES ſets out with the Greeks.

AFTER this narration, it cannot be difficult to explain the meaning of the figures of our Sarcophagus. The middle figure, which holds a ſhield and a javelin, is ACHILLES, at the moment when he hears the trumpet *; it is thus that he is repreſented in the monuments we ſhall produce hereafter, and among the family of LYCOMEDES at Sans Souci.

AROUND ACHILLES are to be ſeen ſeveral figures of women, hitherto his companions. Three of them ſeem to have in their hands diſtaffs covered with wool †, but which among them is DEIDAMIA?

* "Exuens matris dolos falſaſque veſtes, falſus eſt armis virum." (SENECA Troad. 214.) And STATIUS, ii. 205. "Jam clypeus breviorque manu conſumitur haſta, mira fides!" The very ſame ACHILLES who ſhall one day be accuſtomed to carry a long ſpear, "pelias haſta." The Poet carries the figure a little too far: All at once ACHILLES preſents himſelf like a hero; he appears the talleſt of all; the javelin that he has in his hand ſeems to be too little, "conſumitur haſta, diminui videtur." If the ſculpture of our monument has not ſuffered, one ſhould imagine that the artiſt has, on purpoſe, repreſented the javelin and the ſhield as ſhort as they appear in the drawing. But perhaps this would be ſuppoſing too haſtily in the artiſt a deſign which is not to be found in any work of art.

† The young ladies, at that moment, were not buſied in or employed in any work. The artiſt, it will be ſaid, ought to have put into their hands ſome of the feminine ornaments which were there expoſed to view. We might ſuppoſe them, with STATIUS, to be ſo many thyrſes;

DEIDAMIA? Undoubtedly ſhe who is kneeling before ACHILLES. She intreats, ſhe conjures him not to abandon her *. Behind, and quite cloſe to her, is an old woman (and this very circumſtance confirms our opinion). She is the nurſe of DEIDAMIA; and is very naturally placed next to her charge †. She alſo ſeems to beſeech ACHILLES not to leave her. Between theſe two figures the marble is not quite perfect. The drawing would ſeem to indicate a baſket. We may imagine a baſis or an altar upon which it is placed; it might be the very baſket in which the preſents of ULYSSES were contained; but the nurſe's clothes ought to fall ſooner to the ground. Behind DEIDAMIA, and at the back of one of her companions who is ſitting, is to be ſeen the warrior who ſounds the trumpet by the order of ULYSSES, and who gives the ſignal of the enemies invading the iſland. STATIUS calls him AGYRTES ‡. After him appears ULYSSES, eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his cap. DIOMEDE, the young hero who is near him, is not ſo happily drawn. Perhaps here the baſſo relievo has been ſomewhat

but the drawing expreſſes clearly ſomething like diſtaffs or ſpindles, &c. Whence it follows, that the artiſt had before his eyes the old narration of the Cyclic Poets; for, according to the Scholia on HOMER, ULYSSES had placed in the porch baſkets filled with women's dreſs. The daughters of LYCOMEDES ruſhed eagerly upon them; ACHILLES graſped the arms: ὅπλα καὶ ταλάρους ἔρριψαν σὺν ἱστουργικοῖς ἐργαλείοις ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ παρθενῶνος. αἱμὲν οὖν κόραι ἐπὶ τοὺς ταλάρους ὥρμησαν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα.

The Scholiaſt on Lycophr. 277. goes ſtill farther: ἀτράκτους καὶ ἠλακάτας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἐργαλεῖα.

* She appears again in the ſame attitude in another baſſo relievo, which ſhall be mentioned hereafter. In the poem of STATIUS, ſhe withdraws into a corner of the hall and weeps, ſeeing how ACHILLES has betrayed himſelf. B. ii. 211.

† Τροφος, nutrix, who alſo in STATIUS is privy to their amours; (i. 670.) Very likely ſhe is the NYSSA of BION; (v. 31.)

‡ ——— cum grande tuba (ſic juſſus) Agyrtes inſonuit. (Achill. ii. 201. See alſo ii. 50, 51. 145.)

impaired

impaired by time *. According to STATIUS, ULYSSES was accompanied to Scyros by DIOMEDE alone; according to others, both by DIOMEDE and PHOENIX, the old tutor of ACHILLES †. May we not ſuppoſe, that the other old man, who is ſeen at the oppoſite angle, behind the ſitting woman, is intended for the latter? As to the two ſitting figures, we may take them for the daughters of LYCOMEDES; and after all, it is of no great conſequence to give ſuch a minute explanation of all the neceſſary figures.

THERE are at Rome two baſſo relievos, which repreſent the fable of ACHILLES at Scyros; one is to be ſeen at the Villa Panfili, and the other in the Villa di Belvedere at Freſcati ‡. WINKELMAN has publiſhed a drawing of the laſt; it is ſatisfactory to have it in

* Each had a peculiar character. ULYSSES is always to be known by his cap; he ſeems buried in thought, as if meditating ſome ſtratagem; his eyes ſunk into his head. DIOMEDE was repreſented like a warrior; intelligent, open, and active. S. Philoſtrat. Jun. Icon. i. p. 864.

† For STATIUS expreſsly mentions DIOMEDE; (ii. 23. and i. 538.) QUINTUS of Smyrna names alſo ULYSSES and DIOMEDE (vii. 244.), where they arrive, for the ſecond time, at Scyros, to take away NEOPTOLEMUS. TZETZA Antehom. 177. mentions ULYSSES, NESTOR, and PALAMEDES; but he changes many things in the relation. The Scholiaſt (Il. T. xix. 338.) after the Cyclic Poets, mentions ULYSSES, PHOENIX, and NESTOR. They had firſt been ſent to PELEUS; but, as he denied having any knowledge of ACHILLES's abode, they went to Scyros. HOMER himſelf tells us quite another ſtory, (Il. (λ) xi. 765.) ULYSSES had certainly the greatſt ſhare in this tranſaction; and ſo he might, in a certain degree, attribute to himſelf, and conſider as his own work, every thing that ACHILLES afterwards performed. Without him theſe things could not have been executed: Ergo opera illius mea ſunt, &c. ſays he in his conteſt with AJAX about the arms of ACHILLES. (Met. xiii. 171.) Me credite Leſbon et Scyron cepiſſe (if, after all, it is our iſland of Scyros that OVID has in view; but it could not be Syros or Syria, the quantity of that word would not accord with the metre of the verſe).

‡ Monumenta Edita.

our

our power to compare it with our monument. ACHILLES bears a ſtriking reſemblance to our's. DEIDAMIA is there alſo kneeling before him and weeping. Behind ACHILLES are five figures of women, one with a lyre, reſtored no doubt by a modern hand. WINKELMAN himſelf complains that the work has been altered by repairing. ULYSSES is there accompanied by DIOMEDE, who is drawing his ſword, and by two other Greeks. Some further additions too may be noticed in that piece, ſuch as a helmet at the feet of ACHILLES, two Cupids, and ſome arms.

THE monument at the Villa Panfili is ſomewhat different. The figures of women are nine. If they are all daughters of LYCOMEDES, it ſeems, that the artiſt has adopted the account of PHILOSTRATES the younger, who, in one of his rhetorical pictures, intituled, ACHILLES *at Scyros*, ſpeaks of many daughters of LYCOMEDES, and of DEIDAMIA as being the eldeſt; one would imagine that ACHILLES, at his age, would have given the preference to the youngeſt. But here all is different from what is commonly known. The iſland is ſymbolically repreſented under the figure of a woman at the foot of a rock. Before a tower lies a field where young girls gather flowers. Among them are DEIDAMIA and ACHILLES in women's dreſſes; ULYSSES and DIOMEDE ſeem to approach. ULYSSES throws among them a baſket full of jewels, and a ſet of armour, upon which ACHILLES ruſhes with eagerneſs. Behind ULYSSES is a figure which holds a trumpet. What follows is a ſubject quite different from the preceding. It is the young PYRRHUS keeping a flock, at the moment when PHOENIX comes in to the harbour of Scyros. It is ſurpriſing that this difference eſcaped the publiſhers of this piece; but they were no

more acquainted with the execution of a picture than the artiſt himſelf, who has repreſented his ſubject in a manner unworthy of an artiſt or a poet.

THERE is alſo to be found in the Muſeum Capitolinum * a round monument in marble, which, as a work of art, has no great merit, but may ſerve to explain the preſent fable. The whole life of ACHILLES is there repreſented, even his reſidence at Scyros, the diſtreſs of DEIDAMIA, and his departure from that iſland. Here again he is exhibited in woman's dreſs, and with arms in his hands. She purſues, overtakes, and endeavours to ſtop him. It is very ſingular to find ACHILLES twice in woman's dreſs on the ſame monument, and to ſee before him a man playing on the flute, inſtead of a warrior ſounding the trumpet.

THERE is alſo at the Villa Albani an ACHILLES, dreſſed like a woman, in the midſt of LYCOMEDES's daughters †. But of all the monuments of that kind, none has greater analogy with our's than the collection of ſtatues at Sans Souci. Theſe ſtatues repreſent ACHILLES by the ſide of DEIDAMIA. It is a ſet, conſiſting of ten figures of ſix, five, and four feet. On this collection WINKELMAN formerly paſſed a very unfavourable ſentence ‡; but he carried his criticiſm certainly too far ‖. It could not be

* Tom. iv. Fig. 17. The fable of this work is already explained by a rough piece of ſculpture in wood, in Fabretti de Tabula Iliaca in Syntagma de columnâ Trajani, (p. 359.)

† Baron de Rieſch. Obſervations faites pendant un Voyage d'Italie (1787), Tom. ii. p. 121. As we have no complete drawing of the Albani collection, the probability of this remark will not be weakened by the ſilence of others about this work.

‡ Hiſtory of the Arts, S. 383. in the Dreſden edition, (afterwards the paſſage has been omitted here, as well as in the Italian tranſlation,) and yet before upon the ſentiment, p. 19.

‖ The worthy MOSHEN has juſtified him: De medicis equeſtri dignitate ornatis, p. 145. Deſcription et Explication de la Collection du Roi de Pruſſe, p. 57. Comparative Deſcription of Berlin and Potſdam, iii. p. 1226. and BUSHING's Voyage to Reckahn, 161.

from

from mere fancy that the artiſt, who repaired theſe ſtatues, gave them as a repreſentation of the family of LYCOMEDES. He muſt have had his motives for doing ſo, and WINKELMAN might eaſily have diſcovered them; for the young warrior in woman's dreſs very naturally ſuggeſted to the modern artiſt the intention of the ancient. The only real fault which has been committed in the repairing, is, that he has made the family a little too numerous. Patriarchal benedictions have not a happy effect in the arts, at leaſt not in ſculpture; be that as it may, the figures were found all together; they were dug out of the earth at Freſcati, and they met with the ſame fate as the family of NIOBE and the TORO FARNESE.

NOW of theſe ten figures, ſeven are the daughters of LYCOMEDES. The old woman is the mother, or rather the very nurſe, who is on our monument; which agrees better with the whole fable. Is it, in fact, to be ſuppoſed, that the mother would have been ſo blind, as not to diſtinguiſh ACHILLES in the midſt of her daughters? Here are alſo ACHILLES and ULYSSES. But LYCOMEDES is not there, as WINKELMAN at firſt reported; he had not ſeen the collection, but CAYLUS ſaw it at Paris, before it had been tranſported to Sans Souci; and he partly confirms WINKELMAN's opinion upon the mediocrity of the work *. According to

[8] Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, T. xxv. Mem. p. 322. Le Cardinal de POLIGNAC avoit apporte de Rome un mauvais ouvrage dans ce même goût (de Niobé avec ſes filles) répreſentant ACHILLE chez DEIDAMIE. Nous avons eu le tems de l'examiner a Paris; il eſt adjourd' hui chez le Roi de Pruſſe. The artiſt who repaired it is ADAM the Elder, a very famous carver. As the antiques which compoſed the collection of the Cardinal POLIGNAC were to be ſold, a Recueil de Sculptures anciennes Grecques et Romaines was publiſhed 1729. The work is not a maſter-piece. In Plate 36 is to be ſeen one of the daughters of LYCOMEDES; ſhe has a bandeau in her hands, but ſhe reſembles the figure of Chaſtity. It ſeems that ſhe never came to Sans Souci.

him,

him, all the prominent parts, all the heads, have been repaired by young artiſts of the French academy at Rome, who gave them modern faces. LYCOMEDES (he ought to have ſaid ULYSSES) was repaired from the head of the Baron STOSH, and MOSHEN himſelf acknowledges that two of theſe figures were executed by Roman artiſts.

PLINY mentions a picture, the ſubject of which is the ſame with that of our Sarcophagus, and which had been executed by ATHENION *, whom, for talents, he ranks with NICIAS. There was another by POLYGNOTUS at Athens, in the buildings near the Propyleum †.

MANY modern artiſts have attempted the ſubject of ACHILLES at Scyros. A warrior in woman's dreſs is a ſubject that has attractions in it. We have engravings on this matter from the pictures of RUBENS, LAIRESSENS, and ANGELICA KAUFMAN. But whatever may be the merit of theſe works, none of them expreſſes the ſpirit or taſte of antiquity. We expect from our M. FIORILLO a treatiſe upon that modern way of handling the ſubjects of the fable.

THE front of the Sarcophagus is terminated by the figure of the old man above mentioned. Half of the figure appears on the ſmall ſide like that of a Hermes; it joins the firſt relievo with that of the ſmall ſide, which, ſays M. LE CHEVALIER, is of a fine workmanſhip, and which repreſents the Centaur CHIRON inſtructing ACHILLES in the art of the bow ‡. The attitude of

* PLINY, xxxv. 40. 29. ATHENION MARONITES GLAUCIONIS Corinthii filius—pinxit—item ACHILLEM virginis habitu occulatum ULYSSE deprehendente.

† PAUSANIAS, i. 22. p. 52.

‡ Exactly as in PINDAR. Nem. 3. 77. ωαῖς ἐὼν ἄθυρε μεγάλ' ἔργα χερσὶ θαμινὰ Φρακυσίδαρον ἔκοντα ἐάλλων,

ACHILLES indicates that he is bending his bow, and drawing an arrow from his quiver over his ſhoulder. That attitude, and in particular the motion of the right hand behind the ſhoulder, is evidently forced *, which is the more ſingular, as that very ſide is in fact of a better workmanſhip. I think he is more happily repreſented on the round monument of the Muſeum Capitolinum. There he is ſitting on the Centaur, and makes a better appearance than CUPID on the large Centaurs of Furietti †. He holds an arrow, it ought perhaps to be a javelin. CHIRON holds alſo a bow and an arrow. The Sarcophagus has probably ſuffered in this part. CHIRON ſeems to hold the well-known pedum, which is commonly ſeen in his hand; upon this one may conſult WINKELMAN.

THE education of ACHILLES by CHIRON in the caverns of mount Pelion in Theſſaly, is too well known for inſiſting any longer on it. The fable according to ſome poets ‡, and STATIUS himſelf, is grounded upon this principal circumſtance. ACHILLES had been brought by THETIS to CHIRON, and educated by that Centaur. When the fatal moment was approaching, ſhe came to take him away, and tranſported him to Scyros.

* M. FIORILLO has recalled to my memory a work which is in the Muſeum Clementinum, Tom. iv. tab. 42. where HERCULES is exactly in the ſame attitude, but he has already darted the arrow, and his arm is in the ſame ſituation as when he ſnapped the ſtring; the bending of the arm is alſo more natural.

† And probably it was the Centaur CHIRON with ACHILLES who is mentioned by PLINY, xxxvi. 4. 8. when he ſays, that at Rome, in the Campus Martius, where the people uſed to aſſemble, one ſaw CHIRONEM cum ACHILLE among the great works, the authors of which were not well known.

‡ See APOLLODORUS, iii. 13. 6. with the notes. See alſo STATIUS, ii. 380. HOMER goes ſo far as to ſay that ACHILLES had acquired from CHIRON the knowledge of plants ſalutary againſt wounds. Il. (λ) xi. 830. 1.

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THE other oppoſite ſmall ſide repreſents again ACHILLES in woman's dreſs. He is ſitting and playing on the lyre; two women are by him; it is clear they are his companions, and DEIDAMIA muſt be one of them. STATIUS has ſtrongly availed himſelf of this incident*. "From the very beginning, ACHILLES's "choice falls upon DEIDAMIA; wherever ſhe goes he follows "her ſteps, and never loſes ſight of her. At one time he leans "over her, and ſhe does not ſhrink from him. At another, he "throws at her ſome flowers which had accidentally fallen out of "the baſket. He touches the harmonious ſtrings of the lyre; "he teaches her to play; he leads her hand; he bends her "fingers upon the ſounding ſtrings. When ſhe ſings, he gives "her an amorous kiſs on the lips; he claſps her in his arms, and "applauds her with thouſands of kiſſes. She learns with plea-"ſure to ſing ACHILLES, and his reſidence on mount Pelion; "ſhe repeats with aſtoniſhment his actions and his name; and "ſhe ſings ACHILLES, whom ſhe has before her eyes, without "knowing him. In her turn, ſhe teaches him to obſerve more "modeſty in his motions, to draw threads from the twiſted wool, "and to keep his diſtaff ſtraight †." We cannot forbear recollecting on this occaſion the favourite ſubject of the poets and artiſts, ACHILLES *playing on the lyre*, as HOMER repreſents him, when the ambaſſadors of the Greeks came to his tent.

IT remains only to ſpeak of the fourth ſide, which repreſents the fight of two Centaurs with a Lion and a Lioneſs. Notwith-

* Achill. i. 566. 572.

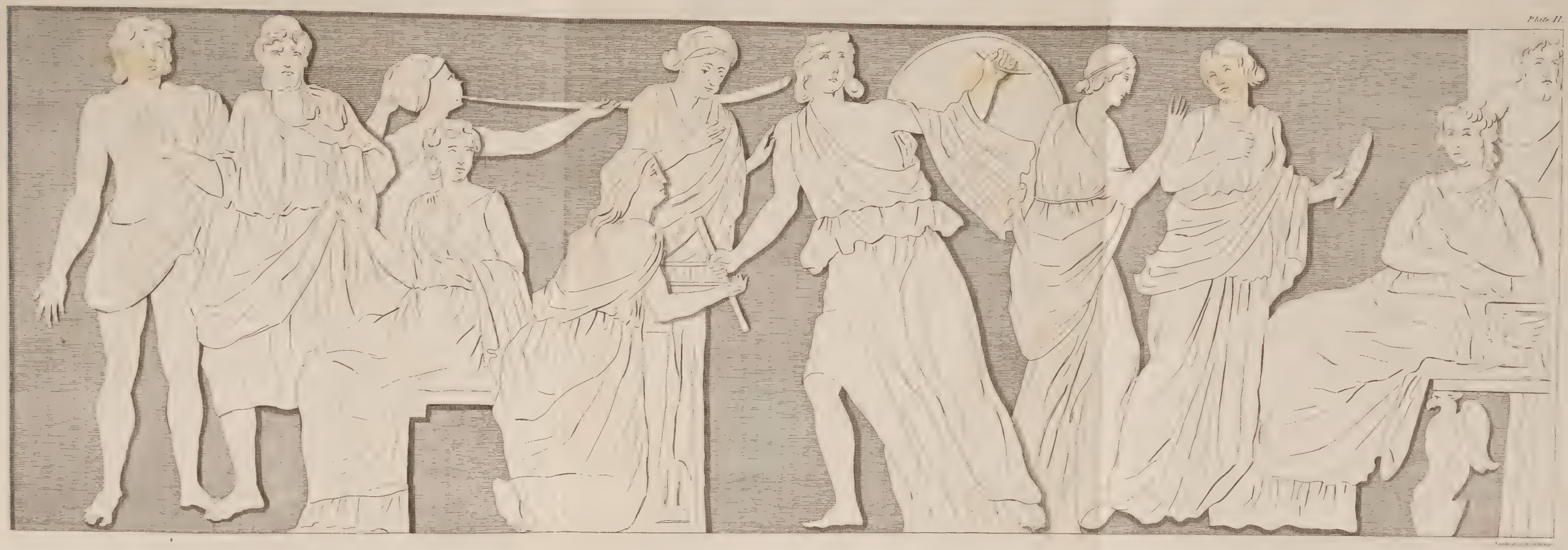
† And yet THETIS had carefully taught him how he was to behave: Inceſſum, motumque docet fandique pudorem. STAT. i. 331. Iterùmque monet rursùmque fatigat blanda THETIS: ſic ergo gradus, ſic ora manuſque, nate, feres, comites que modis imitabere fictis.

ſtanding the expreſſion of the figures, we cannot overlook their enormous ſize. However, they are very happily introduced to complete and ornament a ſcene of which the Centaur CHIRON makes a part.

M. LE CHEVALIER aſſures us, that the workmanſhip of the Sarcophagus is not every where equal; the principal ſide has more relievo than the reſt, though it is not quite in ſo fine a ſtile; it is much more in the taſte of the Roman Sarcophagi. To explain this extraordinary fact, we may ſuppoſe that ſome Roman who lived in that iſland had employed different hands to execute this Sarcophagus; or perhaps finding a Greek work in an imperfect ſtate, he finiſhed it.

M. LE CHEVALIER mentions no inſcription on the Sarcophagus; ſo that, in that particular, we are very far from the tomb of Homer. The Sarcophagus may have contained the aſhes of ſome great perſonage, very likely antecedent to the time of the Romans. But let this be as it will, long ſince has that handful of aſhes been diſperſed!—Pulvis et umbra ſumus!

THE END.



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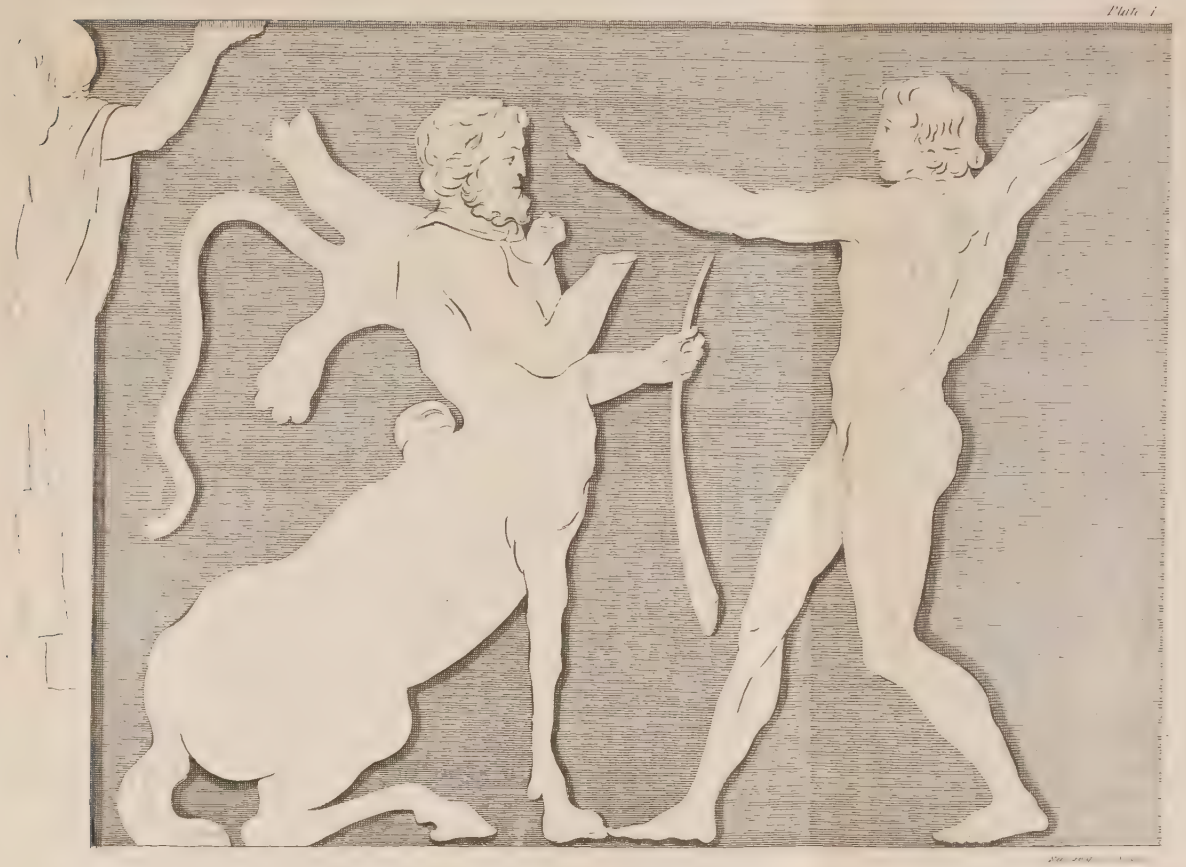

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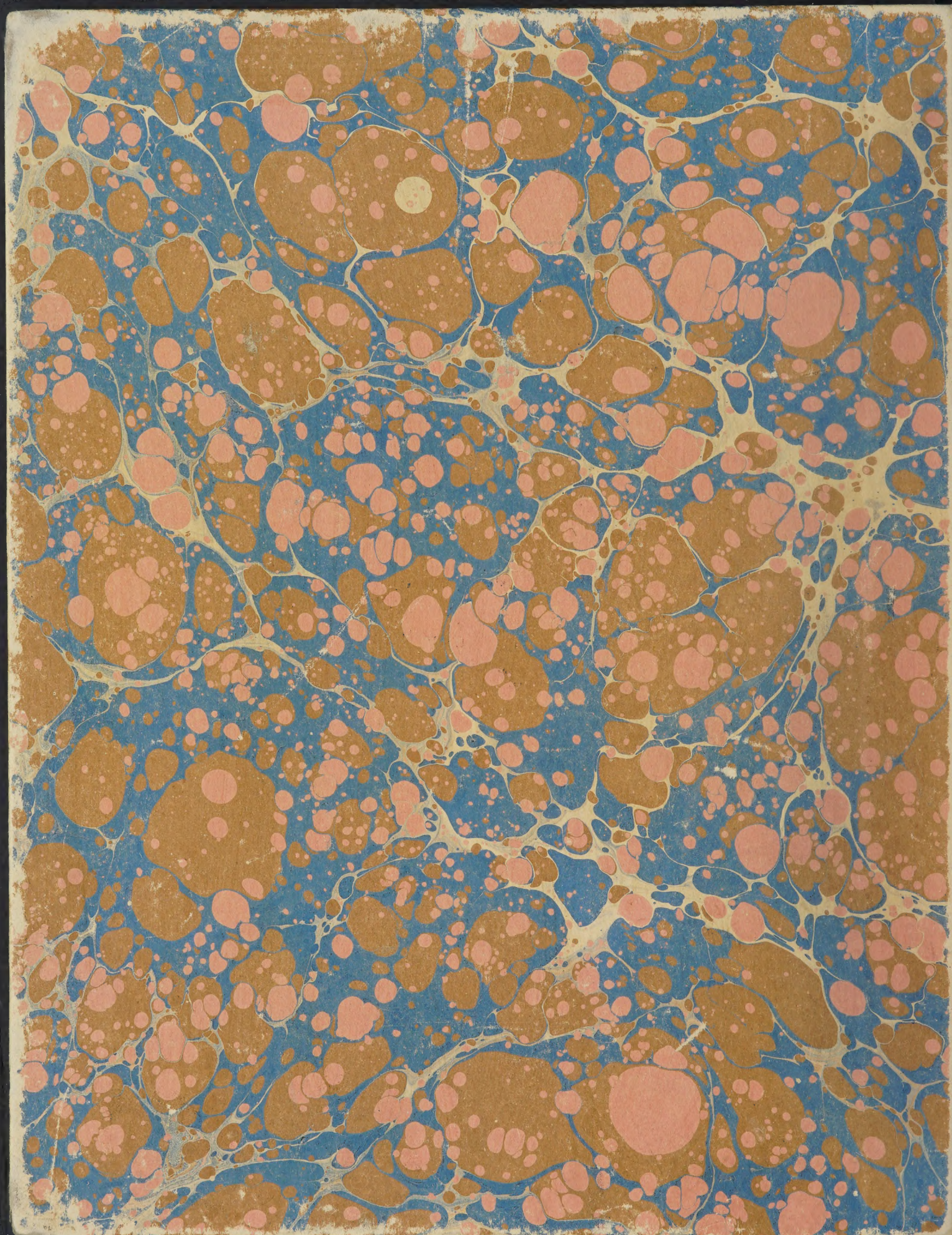
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